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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1614

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 VIENNA 1344

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN ALLIED AND EASTERN REPS

FEBRUARY 13, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FEB 13 INFORMAL DISCUSSION WAS ATTENDED BY SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY, POLISH REP STRULAK AND CZECH-OSLOVAK REP KLEIN, AND BY UK REP, BELGIAN REP AND US REP AND DEP REP. US REP LED OFF WITH REVIEW OF ALLIED PROPOSAL FOR INFORMAL PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT FOCUSSED ON US-SOVIET FORCES AND MADE SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN PROPOSALS ON THIS SUBJECT TO ILLUSTRATE ALLIED CASE. KHLESTOV'S REPOSE, MANY TIMES REPEATED IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION, WAS THAT FRAM OF REFERENCE FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSION SHOULD BE ENTIRE RANGE OF SUBJECT MATTER. SPECIFICALLY, KHLESTOV SUGGESTED DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL FORCES AND FOREIGN FORCES "WITH ALL THEIR COMPONENTS," A REFERENCE TO AIR

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AND NUCLEAR FORCES, WHICH HOWEVER HE NEVER SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED.

KHLESTOV INDICATED THAT EAST MIGHT BE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE AS REGARDS TIMING OF DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL ITEMS IF WEST SHOULD ACCEPT HIS SUGGESTED DESCRIPTION OF THE TOPICS TO BE ADDRESSED. HE ONCE MORE INDICATED EAST ATTACHED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO CONTINUATION OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION. ALLIED REPS EMPHASIZED NEED TO FOCUS ON COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES. THEY POINTED OUT THAT THE PLENARIES HAD GIVEN AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE WHOLE RANGE OF PROGRAM OF BOTH SIDES AND THE MANY POINTS OF DIFFERENCE THEY ENTAILED AND THAT INFORMAL GROUPS SHOULD BE USED MORE PRODUCTIVELY. DISCUSSION WAS INCONCLUSIVE. IT WAS AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON FEB 20. END SUMMARY.

2. US REP LED OFF DISCUSSION BY PRESENTING TALKING POINTS ON*AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO US-SOVIET FORCES, USING PAPER

PREVIOUSLY TABLED IN AD HOC GROUP. KHLESTOV SAID HE HAD ONE QUESTION TO ASK. HE WOULD LIKE TO REMIND ALLIED REPS THAT IN THE PREVIOUS INFORMAL GATHERING ON FEB 6, HE HAD ASKED ALLIED REPS TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING ON SUCH OCCASIONS THE ENTIRE RANGE OF SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, SPECIFICALLY NATIONAL TROOPS AND FOREIGN TROOPS AND THEIR COMPONENTS. EASTERN REPS HAD ASKED ALLIED REPS TO CONSIDER THIS PROPOSAL AND TO GIVE THEIR ANSWER ON THE PRESENT OCCASION.

3. US REP SAID ALLIED REPS HAD CONSIDERED THIS POSSIBILITY. THEY BELIEVED IF ONE TOOK THE WHOLE RANGE OF SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION IN THE INFORMAL GATHERINGS, THIS WOULD NOT BE GREATLY DIFFERENT THAN THE PLENARIES. THERE WOULD BE REAL ADVANTAGE IN FINDING SOME COMMON POINT AS A STARTING PLACE. IF ONE MERELY DISCUSSED THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, THE PRESENT GATHERINGS WOULD MERELY DO THE SAME WORK AS PLENARIES. IF ON THE CONTRARY, ONE MADE AN EFFORT TO DEFINE COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES AND FOCUSED ON THESE, THIS COULD LEAD TO PROGRESS. THERE WAS AN ADDITIONAL PRACTICAL PROBLEM: EVERYONE AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO TACKLE THE ENTIRE SUBJECT MATTER AT ONCE.

4. UK REP EMPHASIZED THE IMPRACTICALITY OF ATTEMPTING TO TAKE ON THE ENTIRE SUBJECT MATTER AT ONCE. IN ANY SUBJECT, THERE WAS A SPECIFIC POINT WHERE A START COULD BE MADE. THE ALLIED SUGGESTION WAS PURELY PROCEDURAL TO LEAVE OTHER ELEMENTS ASIDE WHILE A
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PRACTICAL BEGINNING WAS MADE AT A SPECIFIC POINT.

5. BELGIAN REP SAID THE ALLIES HAD EXAMINED EASTERN PROPOSALS IN THIS REGARD AND HAD TRIED TO FIND COMMON POINTS. THERE WERE ONLY A FEW POINTS WHERE THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES COINCIDED. IF THESE WERE SELECTED, PROGRESS COULD BE MADE. CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE OVERALL ISSUE APPEARED TO HIM MORE READY FOR DISCUSSION THAN THE OTHERS.

6. KHLESTOV SAID ALLIES REPS HAD EMPHASIZED THE COMMON ELEMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE SOUGHT. ALLIED REPS HAD MENTIONED THE IDEA OF COMMON ELEMENTS, BUT IN FACT HAD PRESENTED IN THE GUISE OF A COMMON ELEMENT THEIR OWN SPECIFIC VIEW POINT. IN ORDER TO DISCUSS WHAT WAS COMMON, IT WAS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE THE ENTIRE PROGRAM OF BOTH SIDES. FOR EXAMPLE, HE CONSIDERED AS A COMMON ELEMENT THE TOPIC OF REDUCTION OF NATIONAL FORCES. ALL WESTERN DELEGATES HAD TOLD EAST THAT THEY MIGHT EVENTUALLY REDUCE NATIONAL FORCES. ANOTHER COMMON ELEMENT HE COULD SEE WAS THE REDUCTION OF FORCES OTHER THAN US AND SOVIET. THIS WOULD ALSO BE A COMMON ELEMENT. THE BELGIAN REP FOR EXAMPLE HAD NOT YET SAID BELGIUM WAS PREPARED TO REDUCE ITS FORCES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, WHICH ARE FOREIGN TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND WHICH HE WOULD DEFINE AS FOREIGN TROOPS. SO THE QUESTION OF WHAT WAS COMMON IN THE TWO PRESENTATIONS AND WHAT WAS NOT HAD NOT YET BEEN FULLY DISCUSSED. HE HAD PRESENTED A DESCRIPTION OF THOSE POINTS HE FELT WERE COMMON. ALLIED REPS HAD SAID A COMMON ELEMENT IN THE APPROACH OF BOTH SIDES WAS THE REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES WHICH HE DID NOT CONSIDER A COMMON ELEMENT IF IT WERE ISOLATED IN THIS WAY. ALLIED REPS HAD ARBITRARILY DEFINED WHAT WAS COMMON IN THEIR VIEW AND HAD PASSED ON DIRECTLY TO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION. THIS DID NOT SEEM A BAD IDEA. BOTH SIDES COULD DO THIS. SO IF IT WAS DESIRED TO DISCUSS A PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL, THE EASTERN ADEA ON ITS CONTENT SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED, THAT IS, TO DISCUSS WHATEVER EACH SIDE WANTS. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE A BETTER APPROACH SIMPLY TO DROP THE PROCEDURAL PROPOSALS MADE BY BOTH SIDES AND JUST PASS OVER TO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON QUESTIONS RELATED TO REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES.

7. US REP NOTED THAT SOVIET REP HAD SAID THAT REDUCTION OF NATIONAL FORCES WAS COMMON TO THE POSITION OF BOTH SIDES. ALSO THE GENERAL IDEA OF REDUCTION OF OTHER FOREIGN FORCES AND THE US AND
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SOVIET FORCES WAS ALSO COMMON TO THE POSITION BOTH SIDES. ALLIED REPS DID NOT HAVE A CLOSED MIND ON THIS SUBJECT. THEY WANTED TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS A COMMON DEFINITION OF SUBJECT MATTER FOR THESE SESSIONS. HE WOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS WITH HIS COLLEAGUES THE IDEA THAT ADDITIONAL TOPICS MIGHT ALSO BE INCLUDED IN AN AGREED LIST OF COMMON ELEMENTS AND WOULD THEREFORE BE SUITABLE FOR DISCUSSION AS WELL AS THE TOP
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P R 141537Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1615

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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FROM US REP MBFR

ALLIED VIEW THAT THIS WAS A POINT IN COMMON IN THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES. HE BELIEVED HE HAD DEMONSTRATED THIS. HE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT THE SEARCH FOR COMMON POINTS WAS MOST IMPORTANT AND PRODUCTIVE WAY TO PROCEED. PERSONALLY HE BELIEVED THAT FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MIGHT BE ADDED TO A DEFINITION OF COMMON ELEMENTS.

8. BELGIAN REP SAID HE WAS FLATTERED THAT SOVIET REP HAD CHOSEN BELGIAN FORCES AS AN ILLUSTRATION. BUT AS REGARDS POINTS IN COMMON, HE THOUGHT THE ISSUE SHOULD BE RESOLVED IN TERMS OF COMMON SENSE. BOTH SIDES HAD BEEN LOOKING FOR COMMON POINTS. FROM THE PRACTICAL VIEWPOINT THE ALLIES CONSIDERED THE MORE DIRECT AND EASY ROUTE TO PROGRESS TO BE A FOCUS ON SOVIET- AMERICAN FORCES. THERE WERE OTHER POINTS OF COMMON INTEREST IN THE APPROACH OF BOTH SIDES. BUT THE OVER-ARCHING COMMON CONSIDERATION

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ON BOTH SIDES WAS, AS HE SAW IT, TO START THINGS GOING TO CONVINCE PUBLIC OPINION ON BOTH SIDES THAT SOME PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE. THIS MEANT TO TACKLE THE ENTIRE PROBLEM FROM THE POINT OF LEAST RESISTANCE. THE ALLIES WERE CONVINCED THAT THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL FORCES HAD TO BE DEALT WITH SOONER OR LATER BUT WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION DID NOT WANT TO SEE A CONTINUATION OF DETENTE ON THE ONE HAND AND TO BE FACED WITH A BIG MILITARY BUILDUP ON THE OTHER. IT WANTED TO SEE A DEMONSTRATION THAT SPECIFIC CHANGE WAS POSSIBLE. THEREFORE

THE PARTICIPANTS SHOULD DIVIDE UP THE PROBLEM AND DEFINE THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH WERE EASIEST TO TACKLE. THE ENTIRE SUBJECT MATTER COULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO CATEGORIES OF PROBLEMS WHICH WERE MOST URGENT AND EASY TO RESOLVE AND THOSE WHICH WERE MORE COMPLICATED. ONE ASPECT WHICH WAS FAIRLY EASY TO DEAL WITH WAS THE SOVIET-AMERICAN ONE. PROGRESS IN THIS FIELD WOULD HAVE AS A RESULT THAT WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION WOULD BE CONVINCED OF THE VALUE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND MORE CONFIDENT TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS. OTHER ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER WERE MORE DIFFICULT AND TOUCHY AND WOULD TAKE A LONGER TIME TO RESOLVE. THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL FORCES COULD NOT BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. BUT THE SUBJECT MATTER SHOULD BE SPLIT UP AND PARTICIPANTS SHOULD DEAL FIRST WITH THE MOST CONVINCING ASPECT. THIS WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS.

9. KHESTOV RESPONDED THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO MAKE THE NEGOTIATIONS SUCCESSFUL. HE ALSO LIKED THE BELGIAN REP'S COMMENT THAT BELGIUM WOULD EVENTUALLY REDUCE ITS ARMED FORCES. THIS REMARK SUPPORTED HIS OWN POINT OF VIEW THAT THERE WERE COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES. BELGIUM MERELY HAD TO AGREE THAT IT WOULD CONDUCT ITS REDUCTIONS TOGETHER WITH THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THERE WOULD BE REAL PROGRESS. WITH REGARD TO REMARKS OF US REP ON THE PROCEDURAL ASPECT, IF HE UNDERSTOOD THESE REMARKS CORRECTLY, ALLIED REPS THOUGHT THAT THE CURRENT EASTERN DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER WAS CORRECT, THAT IS, INCLUSION OF NATIONAL FORCES WITH ALL THEIR COMPONENTS. IT WAS A FACT THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GET THE INFORMAL MEETINGS STARTED BECAUSE AS YET THERE HAD BEEN NO AGREEMENT ON SUBJECT MATTER. EVERYONE APPEARED TO WISH TO GET A SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION STARTED. IT WAS

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JUST NECESSARY TO DEFINE THE SUBJECT MATTER. AS HE NOW UNDERSTOOD IT, ALLIED REPS CONSIDERED IT CORRECT THAT NATIONAL FORCES AND FOREIGN FORCES AND ALL THEIR COMPONENT PARTS SHOULD BE THE TOPIC. IF ALLIED REPS WISHED TO CONSULT FURTHER ON THIS POINT, HE WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE THEIR ANSWER NOW OR IN THE FUTURE.

10. US REP SAID THAT "COMPONENT PARTS" WERE NOT A COMMON ELEMENT IN THE PROGRAM OF BOTH SIDES. KHESTOV REPLIED THAT IF THIS WAS THE CASE, THEN PARTICIPANTS AT THESE GATHERINGS SHOULD EXAMINE THE WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES, SO THERE WOULD BE NO MISUNDERSTANDINGS. BUT IT WOULD SEEM TO HIM THAT THE ALLIED REPS HAD AGREED TO DISCUSS THE TOPIC OF NATIONAL FORCES, FOREIGN FORCES AND ALL THEIR COMPONENTS. I* THIS WAS CORRECT, THIS POINT SHOULD BE CONFIRMED AND THE DISCUSSION COULD START. US REP SAID THAT HIS PROPOSAL HAD BEEN TO DISCUSS US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND HAD MEN-

TIONED POSSIBLE FURTHER COMMON ELEMENTS IN THIS REGARD. HE HAD UNDERSTOOD SOVIET REP TO SAY THAT THE EAST SAW COMMON GROUND IN THE REDUCTION OF NATIONAL FORCES AS WELL AS IN US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND ALSO OTHER FOREIGN FORCES. HIS SUGGESTION HAD BEEN TO ADD THESE TWO TOPICS SO THAT THERE WOULD BE THREE TOPICS AND NOT ONLY ONE FOR DISCUSSION, I.E., US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES, REDUCTION OF NATIONAL FORCES AND REDUCTION OF OTHER FOREIGN FORCES. ALL THREE OF THESE ELEMENTS SEEMED TO BE EXAMPLES OF AREAS WHERE THERE WERE POINTS IN COMMON BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES.

11. UK REP POINTED OUT THAT ALLIED POSITION WAS THAT DISCUSSION SHOULD FOCUS ON US-SOVIET FORCES. AS THE US REP HAD INDICATED, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE AFTER DISCUSSION WITH OTHER ALLIED COLLEAGUES TO EXPAND THIS DEFINITION TO INCLUDE OTHER FORCES. BUT ALLIED REPS HAD NOT SUGGESTED THAT "COMPONENTS" BE ADDED UNDER THIS HEADING OF COMMON ELEMENTS.

12. BELGIAN REP SAID HE HAD A PERSONAL SUGGESTION. HE DID NOT WANT THE DISCUSSION TO BECOME TOO ABSTRACT. HE HAD TRIED TO EXPLAIN THE REASONS WHY HE BELIEVED A FOCUS ON US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES WAS LOGICAL. SOVIET REP'S REMARKS ON THIS OCCASION INDICATED THAT EAST HAD CONCERN OVER WHAT HAPPENED TO OTHER FORCES. ALLIED REPS WERE AWARE
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OF THIS CONCERN. IF ONE WISHED TO DEAL WITH THIS TOPIC, IT WOULD TAKE MORE TIME. IT WOULD BE LESS EFFICIENT, BUT THIS WAS A PROBLEM FOR THE EAST. IF PROGRESS COULD BE MADE ON THE ALLIED SUGGESTION, THEN IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE FORWARD IN THE FRAMEWORK OF EASTERN CONCERNS AND THE ALLIES COULD TRY TO GIVE ASSURANCES TO MEET THESE CONCERNS.

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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FROM US REP MBFR

13. KHLESTOV SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE EAST HAD PROPOSED THAT THE PRESENT DISCUSSION DEALT WITH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL PROPONENTS OF THOSE PROPOSALS. WESTERN ARGUMENTS FOR DISCUSSING US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES WERE NOT CONVINCING. HE WOULD NOT REPEAT ALL EASTERN ARGUMENTS ON THIS POINT, BUT WANTED TO EMPHASIZE ONE. ALLIES SAID THAT US AND SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WERE THE LARGEST ELEMENTS THERE. WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, THE LARGEST ELEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE WERE THE FORCES OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. SO FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW ALONE, THE ALLIED VIEW THAT DISCUSSION SHOULD BEGIN WITH US AND SOVIET FORCES WAS NOT LOGICAL OR REALISTIC. HE COULD ANSWER ALL OF THE OTHER ARGUMENTS PUT FORWARD BY ALLIES REPS, BUT WHAT WOULD BE THE POINT OF DOING SO. ALLIES REPS WERE GIFTED IN PRESENTING NEW ARGUMENTS. THIS COULD GO ON FOR A LONG TIME. BUT THE REAL ADVANTAGE OF MEETINGS LIKE THE PRESENT ONE AND THEIR REAL OBJECTIVE
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WAS TO LOOK FOR SOLUTIONS. IF THE PARTICIPANTS REALLY WANTED TO LOOK FOR SOLUTIONS, THEN THEY WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT THE ENTIRE POSITION OF BOTH SIDES. THE ALLIES WANTED ONLY TO DISCUSS US AND SOVIET FORCES. FOR THE EAST, IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO DISCUSS ALL NATIONAL FORCES, ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND THEIR COMPONENTS. ALLIED REPS MAINTAINED IT WOULD BE EASIER TO FIND A SOLUTION THROUGH DEALING WITH THE TOPIC OF US/SOVIET FORCES. BUT THE EAST VIEW WAS THAT IT WOULD BE EASIER TO FIND A SOLUTION IF ALL OF THESE ELEMENTS WERE DISCUSSED. THE EAST WAS NOT INTERESTED IN DISCUSSION FOR THE SAKE OF DISCUSSION. THIS WAS A WAY TO FIND SOLUTIONS. SO IF IT WERE DESIRED, AS APPEARED TO BE THE CASE ON ALL SIDES, TO BEGIN THESE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

PRODUCTIVELY, THEN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE REALISTIC IN DEFINING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS OR IN IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION. SO IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO TAKE NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND ALL THEIR COMPONENTS. IF THIS WERE AGREED, THEN THE PARTICIPANTS COULD GO ON TO DISCUSS HOW TO ARRANGE AND ORGANIZE THE DISCUSSIONS. THERE WAS A TECHNICAL ISSUE OF TIMING OF THE ELEMENTS. ALL OF THIS COULD BE DISCUSSED. ONE COULD INDEED THINK OF THE TIMING OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS. HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS WHOLE TOPIC WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND THEY ALL AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY IN THESE DISCUSSIONS TO DEAL WITH ALL THE ISSUES ON BOTH SIDES.

14. THE US REP SAID HE ASSUMED FROM SOVIET REMARKS THAT SOVIET REP WAS LOOKING FOR A MORE GENERAL FORMULA. ONE COULD REFLECT ON THIS SUGGESTION. BUT ALLIED REPS BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE A FORMULA WHICH EMPHASIZED POINTS IN COMMON BETWEEN THE APPROACHES OF BOTH SIDES TO PROVIDE AT LEAST A STARTING POINT FOR A DIALOGUE. US REP SUGGESTED THAT EASTERN REPS THINK IN TERMS OF THIS CONSIDERATION. ALLIES, FOR THEIR PART, WOULD THINK OF THE EASTERN SUGGESTION FOR A MORE GENERAL FORMULA WHICH MIGHT HAVE MORE THAN ONE TOPIC.

15. BELGIAN REP AGREED WITH THIS VIEW. HE SAID ALLIED REPS HAD TRIED TO EXPLAIN HOW TO PROCEED IN THE MOST EFFICIENT WAY. THEY HAD TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR HOW AMERICAN FORCE REDUCTIONS WOULD FIT INTO THE GENERAL INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES AND INTO A GENERAL SCHEME OF DETENTE WHICH OF COURSE INCLUDE THE CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN
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SECURITY IN GENEVA. THE SOVIET REP HAD MENTIONED NATIONAL FORCES AND THEIR COMPONENTS AND THE TIMING PROBLEM. THE EASTERN VIEW WAS THAT THESE ISSUES SHOULD NOT BE ISOLATED. THE ALLIED REPS WERE NOT DISCOURAGED TO HEAR THESE VIEWPOINTS. THEY COULD NOT EXPECT TO OVERCOME WITHIN A FEW WEEKS OF NEGOTIATION RESULTS OF 20 YEARS OF COLD WAR. THE ISSUE NOW APPEARED TO BE, HOW TO COMBINE THE EASTERN PRIORITIES WITH THE WESTERN ONES. SOVIET REP SAID HE BELIEVED THAT BELGIAN REP'S REMARKS SHOWED UNDERSTANDING OF THE NECESSITY OF COMBINING ALL CONCERNS, WESTERN AND EASTERN, TO DEAL WITH THE ENTIRE SUBJECT MATTER. SO IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT SOME AGREEMENT ON THESE LINES SHOULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER FOR THESE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS.

16. POLISH REP SAID THAT EACH SIDE HAD EXPRESSED ITS PRIORITIES. THE PRIORITIES ON BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE PLACED ON THE SAME BASIS. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THE BASIC ISSUE WAS THAT THE EASIEST WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS WAS IN THE FIELD OF AMERICAN/SOVIET FORCE REDUCTIONS. AS FAR AS PROCEDURE WAS CONCERNED, THE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DIVIDE THE SUBJECT MATTER INTO TWO CATEGORIES-

ONE WHICH COULD BE TACKLED MORE RAPIDLY AND THE SECOND CATEGORY, TO FOLLOW IN THE SECOND PHASE, OF MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. POLISH REP SAID THAT EASTERN VIEW DIFFERED. BELGIAN REP HAD MADE THE POINT THAT DETENTE WAS VIABLE FOR THE WEST IF US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS CAME FIRST. BUT FOR THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS THE CRITERION OF THE EFFICIENT PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTIONS.

17. UK REP SAID THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE OF APPROACH MANIFESTED IN THESE REMARKS. IT WAS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT, IN THE PRESENT STAGE, PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT DISCUSSING THE GENERAL ISSUE OF PRIORITIES. ALLIED REPS WERE FULLY AWARE OF THE DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH OF BOTH SIDES. THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES. BUT THE ESSENCE OF THE ALLIED APPROACH WAS TO SET ASIDE THESE DIFFERENCES FOR THE MOMENT AND FIND A PRACTICAL POINT TO GET STARTED, A POINT OF ENTRY INTO A REAL DIALOGUE, A COMMON POINT WHICH WAS NEEDED TO MAKE A START. POLISH REP SAID HE AGREED WITH THIS AIM, BUT THAT THE APPROACH DESCRIBED BY THE SOVIET REP WAS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE IT. UK REP COMMENTED THAT US REP HAD SUGGESTED

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THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER ADDING TO THE US/SOVIET FORCE THEME A POINT ON NATIONAL FORCES AND OTHER FOREIGN FORCES. THIS POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE DISCUSSED WITH OTHER ALLIED COLLEGUES. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING NOW SHOULD BE TO FIND SOME PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD PERMIT PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE, NOT TO GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE.

18. SOVIET REP SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THERE WAS AN INCORRECT ELEMENT IN THE REFERENCE OF THE UK REP TO THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING THE EASTERN PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL WITH HIS OTHER ALLIED COLLEGUES. US REP'S FORMULATION HAD BEEN US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES, PLUS NATIONAL AND FOREIGN FORCES. THAT HAD BEEN THE US REP'S FORMULA, NOT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WHICH WAS DIFFERENT. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS THAT THE PARTICIPANTS' AIM AT AN UNDERSTANDING, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE EVENTUAL SOLUTION OF SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, ON THE TOPIC OF REDUCTIONS OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES WITH THE TOTALITY OF THEIR COMPONENTS. THE ORDER AND TIMING OF SUCH DISCUSSION REMAINED FOR FUTURE DEFINITION. THIS WAS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. UK REP SAID HE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THE SOVIET REP'S POINT. HE HAD WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT THE ALLIED REPS MIGHT BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES TO THE LIST OF COMMON POINTS. US REP HAD EMPHASIZED NECESSITY OF FOCUSING ON ELEMENTS COMMON TO BOTH PROGRAMS THE SOVIET REP'S EMPHASIS ON COMPONENTS OF FORCES WENT BEYOND COMMONALITY.

19. SOVIET REP ASKED HOW COULD THE PARTICIPANTS ARRIVE AT A CONCLUSION THAT SOMETHING WAS COMMON OR NOT UNCOMMON WITHOUT DISCUSSING THESE ELEMENTS.

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P R 141537Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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FROM US REP MBFR

THERE WERE CERTAIN ASPECTS WHICH THE WEST CONSIDERED TO BE COMMON GROUND AND THE EAST WOULD NOT AND VICE VERSA. IT WAS THEREFORE OBVIOUS THAT WHAT WAS COMMON AND WHAT WAS NOT AND NOT YET BEEN DEFINED. THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE THROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE WHOLE SUBJECT MATTER. EACH SIDE WOULD DESCRIBE THEIR VIEW AND THEN IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SEE IF THERE WERE COMMON ELEMENTS OR NOT. BECAUSE IF COMMON ELEMENTS WERE FOUND, PARTICIPANTS COULD THEN LOOK FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS AND COMPROMISES. BUT WITHOUT DISCUSSION IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHAT ELEMENTS WERE GENUINELY COMMON. US REP ASKED SOVIET REP IF IT WERE CORRECT TO FORMULATE SOVIET VIEW IN THE FOLLOWING WAY: SOVIET REP WISHED TO ENGAGE IN A SEARCH FOR COMMON ELEMENTS IN THE OVERALL APPROACHES OF EAST AND WEST, TO IDENTIFY THESE ELEMENTS

AND THEN ESTABLISH AN ORDER FOR THEIR DETAILED DISCUSSION. WOULD THIS BE A CORRECT DEFINITION?

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20. SOVIET REP SAID HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE AIM OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS TO BE SURE THAT THE AGREED TOPIC OF DISCUSSION COVERED THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEREFORE, EASTERN REPS HAD SUGGESTED FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES AND ALL OF THEIR COMPONENT ELEMENTS. IF THIS COULD BE AGREED, THEN A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION COULD START AIMED AT FINDING MUTUAL AND ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, SOLUTIONS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. IT WAS REALLY THE WRONG WAY OF PUTTING IT TO PROPOSE THAT THIS INFORMAL DISCUSSION BE AIMED AT IDENTIFYING ONLY WHAT WAS COMMON IN THE POSITION OF BOTH SIDES AND WHAT WAS NOT. THAT WOULD BE AN ARTIFICIAL APPROACH. THE TRUE AIM OF THESE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. THE ISSUE WAS NOT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN WHAT WAS COMMON AND WHAT WAS NOT. THE ISSUE WAS TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. THIS WAS THE REAL AIM OF ALL NEGOTIATION. IT WAS ALWAYS DIFFICULT AT THE OUTSET TO FIND A FORMULA ON WHAT TO DISCUSS BECAUSE THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT YET ON A MUTUALLY DEFINED RANGE OF PROBLEMS. THW WEST WANTED TO FOCUS ONLY ON COMMON ELEMENTS. BUT THE EAST WOULD NOT KNOW WHAT WAS COMMON IN THE APPROACH OF BOTH SIDES UNTIL ALL OF THEM HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. THEREFORE THE WESTERN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE PROCEDURAL PROBLEM BY LOOKING ONLY FOR COMMON ELEMENTS WAS UNFORTUNATE AND NOT ACCEPTABLE. BECAUSE IT DELIBERATELY EXCLUDED THE RANGE OF PROBLEMS BEFORE THE PARTICIPANTS, THIS METHOD WAS NOT CONDUCIVE TO SUCCESS. BUT IF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WERE ACCEPTED, DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECTS COULD BEGIN. OF COURSE IT WAS DIFFICULT TO AGREE TO ALL DETAILS IN ADVANCE. THE PARTICIPANTS COULD LATER DEFINE THE ORDER OF DISCUSSION AND ITS TIMING.

21. UK REP SAID THAT PARTICIPANTS ON BOTH SIDES ALREADY KNEW THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF EACH OTHER'S APPROACHES FROM THE PLENARY PRESENTATIONS. THEY COULD BE REPEATED IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS, TRANSFERRING THIS TYPE OF DISCUSSION FROM THE PLENARIES. HOWEVER THIS WOULD NOT BE A PRODUCTIVE MOVE. THE ALLIED REPS WANTED TO GET AWAY FROM REPETITION OF FORMAL VIEWPOINTS. ALL PARTICIPANTS WERE AWARE OF THE MAIN ELEMENTS AND THE MAIN POINTS OF DIFFERENCES ON BOTH SIDES. THE PRESENT EFFORT WAS TO FIND COMMON ELEMENTS. TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE RANGE AGAIN WOULD BE TO MISS THE MAIN POINT OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL. THIS HAD BEEN DONE ALREADY. THE MAIN THING NOW WAS TO FIND SOME COMMON ELEMENTS.

22. SOVIET REP SMIRNOVSKY OBSERVED THAT ANY NEGOTIATION INVOLVED
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BOTH AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE DIVERGING POINTS, WHICH THEN HAD TO BE RESOLVED. THE ALLIED LOGIC WAS TOO LEAVE THESE POINTS OF DIVERGENCE ASIDE. THIS COULD NOT BE DONE SINCE THEY WERE ESSENTIAL TO A SOLUTION. THE US AND USSR HAD BEEN WILLING TO SIGN A RECENT AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. WHY SHOULD NUCLEAR WEAPONS BE LEFT OUT OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION? THE CZECH REP SAID HE DID NOT THINK THAT PLENARY STATEMENTS WOULD MERELY BE REPEATED IN THE PRESENT GROUP. HE HAD ALREADY SEEN ENOUGH OF THE INFORMALITY AND OPENNESS OF EXCHANGE TO BELIEVE THAT NEW ELEMENTS WOULD BE ADDED. POLISH REP AGREED. HE SAID WHOLE STYLE AND APPROACH OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION WOULD BE DIFFERENT THAN PLENARIES AND WOULD ADD FRESH APPROACH TO DISCUSSION IN PLENARY TERMS.

23. BELGIAN REP SAID HE BELIEVED THERE WAS THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE IN THESE SESSIONS. HE CONCLUDED FROM OBSERVING THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION THAT THERE WAS AN INTEREST IN BOTH SIDES IN MOVING AHEAD IN INFORMAL AND CONFIDENTIAL DIALOGUE. THE ALLIED INTEREST WAS TO FIND OUT THE EASIEST WAY TO MAKE RAPID AND EFFECTIVE PROGRESS. THE ALLIES BELIEVED THAT A FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS WOULD BE THAT WAY. THE ALLIES REALIZED THE EASTERN REPS WERE CONCERNED BY THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WEST WOULD EVADE THE ISSUE OF REDUCING OTHER FORCES. ALLIED REPS WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THEIR OWN BASIC APPROACH. THE EASTERN REPS HAD POINTED OUT HOW THEY WISHED TO SUPPLEMENT WESTERN CONCEPTS. WESTERN REPS WERE NOT ATTEMPTING TO ISOLATE A SINGLE ASPECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO DEAL WITH IT ALONE. THEY KNEW THIS WOULD NOT SUCCEED. IF THE EAST HAD DOUBTS, ALLIED REPS WERE READY TO DISCUSS THEM AND TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THEY WERE NOT RUNNING AWAY FROM THE PROBLEM. THEREFORE, THE SIDES WERE NOT SO FAR APART. THE SOVIET REP SAID THAT IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT ON THE PROCEDURAL ISSUE THE PARTICIPANTS WERE MOVING CLOSER TO ONE ANOTHER. THE EAST WANTED TO BE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE ALLIES AS REGARDS DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER. HE HOPED ALLIED REPS WOULD CONSIDER THE EASTERN PROPOSAL FURTHER. US REP STRESSED NEED TO FIND AN APPROACH BASED ON COMMON ELEMENTS AND SUGGESTED THAT DISCUSSION SHOULD CONTINUE THE FOLLOWING WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20. HUMBES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, PEACE TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974VIENNA01344
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740231/aaaabcwh.tel
Line Count: 639
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <01 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: INFORMAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN ALLIED AND EASTERN REPS FEBRUARY 13, 1974
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005